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A New Nationalism

by Justin Raimondo

An "isolationist" is what they call you if you dare utter the forbidden phrase, *America first*. They call you that, and worse, if you are so depraved as to suggest sending the Marines to South Central Los Angeles instead of far-off Mogadishu.

But what are we, really?

The first few issues of *RRR* featured some discussion about what this new movement on the right ought to call itself. "Hard Right" and "New Old Right" were a few of the formulations offered. For the moment, we seem to have settled on the *paleo* motif. Affixing a prefix onto an already existing word is a superficially neat solution, but there are two major problems with it: 1) It sounds like someone who spends all his time studying old bones, and 2) it accentuates the (rapidly disappearing) differences between libertarians and conservatives by forcing us to decide which root word to use. Are we paleolibertarians or paleoconservatives? The debate could go on forever.

What we need is a word that represents a new synthesis. *Conservative* is inadequate because, as Murray Rothbard has pointed out, there is not much left to conserve. As for *libertarian*, this once-noble word no longer fits for two reasons: 1) It has been hopelessly tainted by the antics of a political party which ran a hooker for lt. governor of California, and 2) If liberty is not enough, if there is a cultural dimension to the task of building a movement for a free society, then to simply call ourselves libertarians is not telling the whole story. This is why we turned to the *paleo* prefix to begin with.

(Cont. page 2, col. 1)

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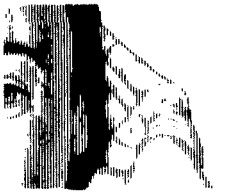

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Susan Thomases, very close friend and advisor of Hillary, was nicknamed "Tootsie" during the campaign.

* * * * *

Janet Reno was stopped at least four times for DUI in Florida, the Ear hears, but as district attorney, was able to prevent the paperwork from being filed.

* * * * *

The Waco cult leader may or may not believe he's Jesus, points out Joe Sobran, but the U.S. government thinks it's God. ■

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(A NEW cont. from pg. 1)

In place of this awkward construction, which makes us sound like a bunch of exotics, I propose that we strike out in a new direction altogether. If paleos *really* want to get back to their Old Right roots, and adopt the label proudly worn by the Old Rightists in the Forties and Fifties, then they ought to call themselves American nationalists.

This proposition is startling to many libertarians only because they have no sense of *place*. Murray Rothbard has called them *luftmenschen*, the "people of the air," an image which suggests that their feet have never really touched American soil. They are citizens, not of America, but of the world. Patriotism, the flag, reverence for the symbols of national unity—these are anathema to the modal libertarian, who is outraged at the heretical idea that, at least in this country, libertarianism and nationalism are inextricably linked.

On some level, however, I believe they really *do* understand the connection, even if only in a subconscious, half-articulate way. A good example is the fact that, after a decade of attending Libertarian Party conventions, on both the state and national level, I cannot recall a single one at which *someone* did not show up in Revolutionary War regalia. One such party stalwart turns up regularly at these events, dressed as Patrick Henry, and performs the famous "Give Me Liberty or Give me Death" speech with at least as much gusto as the original. In the California LP, some years ago, a whole faction turned up at a state convention wearing tri-cornered hats! While in theory ostensibly opposed to the nation-state, the libertarian movement, and specifically the LP, has appropriated the symbols of American nationalism: aside from the Statue of Liberty, which the LP has adopted as its official symbol, how many cracked Liberty Bells and allusions to the legacy of 1776 adorn the letterheads of libertarian think tanks and activist groups?

It is not hard to imagine the modals' protest: but we aren't celebrating the American *nation*, only the revolution which gave birth to it. As if such a singular event—the only fully successful libertarian revolution in history—could be separated from the *place* in which it occurred. As the writer Garet Garrett put it:

> The American revolution was a pilot flame that leaped the Atlantic and lighted holocaust in the Old World. But its character was misunderstood and could not have been reproduced by any other people. It was a revolution exemplary....

This is the dreaded "nativism" which the arbiters of political correctness have banished to the margins: the idea that there was and still is something unique in American culture, not possessed by the Russians, the Somalians, the Mexicans, the French, or even the English, which looked at government as an evil, albeit a necessary one, and therefore strictly limited its role in society. This fact contradicts the egalitarian dogma that all nations and all peoples are "equal," and is therefore ignored by leftists, including Left-libertarians.

The builders of a "New World Order" may have their little disagreements: left-internationalists want to redistribute America's wealth to the Third World and worship at the shrine of the UN, while their "right-wing" counterparts of the neo-conservative variety, such as Charles Krauthammer, call for unilateral U.S. action toward the goal of nothing less than "world dominion." But on one issue they are united: all agree that nationalism, of whatever hue, is the enemy and must be crushed. The only exception to this rule seems to be a sudden enthusiasm, in such places as the UN and the higher reaches of the Clinton Administration, for the heretofore obscure cause of Bosnian-Herzegovinian nationalism. But it turns out that this is not really an exception. Bosnia-Herzegovinia has never been and is not now in any sense a nation. Thus the government of this mythical country, which American boys (and now girls) may die for, is an unstable coalition with a revolving presidency based on the old Yugoslav model—and is even now unraveling in a similar manner.

Serbian nationalism, Croatian nationalism, Russian nationalism, Iraqi nationalism, German nationalism, all are condemned as the potential instruments of a new Hitlerism, guilty of "ethnic cleansing" and worse.

But what they really fear and despise most of all is the native variety, good old-fashioned American nationalism. They

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fear it so much that they refuse to call it by its right name. Instead, they have dredged up the ancient epithet "isolationist," a coined word with a cloudy meaning. The sound of it is archaic, as if the wisdom of George Washington's Farewell Address injunction against "entangling alliances" were as outmoded as his powdered wig.

We are "isolationist" troglodytes—but what, then, are *they*? The anti-"isolationist" campaign, first unleashed against Pat Buchanan and reaffirmed by George Bush in his last major speech, is a smokescreen meant to obscure the one forbidden word. As that stalwart of the Old Right, Garet Garrett, put it in 1943:

> . . . the word in place of isolationism that would make sense is nationalism. Why is the right word avoided?
>
> The explanation must be that the wrong one, for what it is intended to do, is the perfect political word. Since isolationism cannot be defined, those who attack it are not obliged to define themselves. What are they? Anti-isolationists? But if you cannot say what isolationism is neither can you say what anti-isolationism is, whereas nationalism, being definite, has a positive antithesis. One who attacks nationalism is an internationalist.
>
> The use of the obscurity created by the false word is to conceal something. The thing to be concealed is the identity of what is speaking.
>
> Internationalism is speaking.
>
> It has a right to speak, as itself and for itself, but that right entails a moral obligation to say what it means and to use true words.

Today, internationalism is speaking openly, often, and loudly in its own name. The United Nations, the great peacekeeper, has taken over the business of warmaking, with every major conflict, from the Gulf war to Somalia to Bosnia, operating under its auspices. It is a time when a UN Secretary General with two identical first names can demand that all U.S. troops in Somalia and Bosnia be placed under UN command—and U.S. officials are obliged to negotiate a "compromise." But what is being compromised here, as the Joint Chiefs look on nervously?

U.S. sovereignty is increasingly considered an "open" question.

Bush went to the UN to humbly ask permission to murder 200,000 Iraqis, while denying the necessity of Congressional approval. But even he balked at accepting the Rio treaty, which would have turned U.S. industry over to the tender mercies of UN bureaucrats. In one of the few principled acts of his administration, Bush managed to temporarily ward off the Rio globalists. Clinton will embrace them. While neoconservatives raise the banner of a new internationalism devoted to "exporting democracy" from Sarajevo to Mogadishu, on the Right there is a heated debate about whether Americans even have the right to control their own borders.

This is the great issue of our time, the terrain on which the coming battles will be fought, the all-important issue of our epoch: the sovereignty question. For the fact is that U.S. sovereignty is increasingly considered an "open" question.

By undermining U.S. sovereignty, the internationalists undermine the great victory of 1776, which established the only free republic on earth. That republic, our Old Republic, is today in mortal danger, and must be defended not only by those who call themselves libertarians but also by those who still cling to the quaint custom of considering themselves Americans. Now that Communism has failed, the only way we're going to get international socialism is through the back door. In the epoch of a rapidly evolving global bureaucracy and body of "international law," American libertarians are necessarily part of a larger resistance movement

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which can only be called nationalist.

Garet Garrett predicted it fifty years ago, in his classic essay *The Mortification of History* (Chicago Tribune: 1943). "American nationalism may be for the time being repressed," he wrote, as World War II raged on, but

> . . . All elsewhere in the world, however, nationalism is rising, becoming more and more vocal, powerful, and assertive, even in Russia. If this continues . . . an astonishing sequel may begin to appear. The proposed great American adventure in world-wide sharing may assume a solitary aspect; internationalism at last may become isolated in America.

As angry Somalians cry "Yankee go home!" and the Europeans actively discourage U.S. military intervention in the Balkans, it looks like Garrett was right.

We know what internationalism is: we hear it often enough, and from every quarter. It is the Yankee equivalent of the White Man's Burden, a global War on Poverty, the End of History, the final dissolution of American sovereignty in a worldwide social democracy. It is a love of everything *but* one's country.

But what of its opposite, the love whose name none dare speak; what is nationalism of the American variety?

Repressed during World War II by wartime censorship and subordinated to the exigencies of the Cold War, American nationalism is on the rise, and the forbidden phrase, *America first*, is once again heard in the land; raised not only by Pat Buchanan, but also strongly implied by the Perot phenomenon. Anti-government, anti-Beltway, suspicious of foreign adventurism and pro-middle class, this libertarian populism is the biggest obstacle to the Clintonian slide into "multicultural" socialism. As we drain our coffers to force-feed the Somalis, bail out the Russians, and buy the peace of the world, the people are beginning to ask: is it worth it? Ordinary Americans are wondering why their government is keeping order in the streets of Mogadishu while it can't effectively police the streets of Los Angeles.

This is American nationalism speaking—and when it begins to speak in its own name, the uproar of indignation is bound to be deafening. The punditocracy will scream: Isolationism! Nativism! *Selfishness!* We ought to plead guilty to this last charge: yes, it is high time for a little selfishness. After three world wars, two "hot" and one "cold," we have earned it.

Garret put the issue well when he wrote:

> It is not yet inevitable that we shall have to buy the peace of the world with our standard of living; nor is it so resolved in the American mind. A terrific struggle for decision is bound to take place. When it comes the characters will be revealed, both to one another and to themselves, and many no doubt will change sides, seeing clearly for the first time where they were going. The isolationist will be an image cast aside and forgotten. The bitter conflict at last must be one between nationalist and internationalist.

In that contest, libertarians can take but one side. In a world where unelected international agencies decide questions of war and peace, economics and culture, the defense of American sovereignty is a major task of all those who love liberty. This is what unites the various shades of *paleo* into a cohesive movement, what makes us American nationalists: the spirit of 1776. ■

Justin Raimondo is the author of *Reclaiming the American Right: The Lost Legacy of the Conservative Movement in America.*

Phony Libertarians and the War for the Republican Soul

by Murray N. Rothbard

It looks like Lew Rockwell and I got out of the "libertarian movement" and created "paleo-libertarianism" just in the nick of time. I used to think that the one accomplishment of the Libertarian Party was to spread consciousness of the name "libertarian" far and wide throughout the culture. Now I'm not so sure that was a net gain. For the

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word "libertarian" in our current political culture means something very different from the original concept. All the radical anti-statism—the abolition of the income tax, of the welfare state, of the Federal Reserve, etc.—has dropped out of the public consciousness, and all that remains is the left-egalitarian cultural baggage that was draped around the original core concept by virtue of the cultural leftists and misfits who constituted the bulk of the movement. Now, in the post-Bush fight for the soul of the Republican Party, "libertarian" means a devotion to "gay rights," that is, to gay privileges and "anti-discrimination" laws, to the gayization of the military, to forcing free condoms and multicultural sensitivity training and compulsory "love" for "diversity" upon public school youth, etc., plus some egalitarian and socialistic vaporings about "empowerment" of the poor and the inner cities. In short, "libertarian" has now become a code word for cultural and political leftism within the Republican Party. The word "libertarian" has become a veritable stench in the nostrils of every paleo-libertarian, of every rightist libertarian.

In the concrete, the word "libertarian" has now become a label for the Kemp-Weld-Pinkerton wing of the Republican Party. In short, of what could be called the "left-wing" of the neocon movement. According to a remarkably revealing article in the *New Republic*, the Kemp-Bennett-Weber Empower America movement, launched with great fanfare in a January 12 press conference as an implicit Kemp-for-1996 neoconservative coalition, has already begun to unravel, and indeed to fall apart. [Ruth Shalit, "Disempowered", *The New Republic*, March 15.] It is beginning to seem that Kemp, placing all his eggs on tax cuts and accepting all the rest of welfare state spending and of cultural leftism, has gotten *too* leftist for most of the neocons. Bill Bennett has been denouncing Kemp for ignoring rightist moral and cultural issues. Thus, for the cancerous problems of the inner cities, Bennett correctly places the blame on immorality and a violent "culture of poverty," whereas Kemp, almost idiotically, thinks that the whole problem can be solved by "enterprise zones" and capital gains tax cuts. (South Central Los Angeles has been an "enterprise zone" for several years now—and so what?) In a press interview in mid-December, Bennett trenchantly scoffed that "enterprise zones are fine, provided you understand you have to have law and order in that neighborhood, or people won't come in. You have to have the work ethic in people's hearts."

Kemp refuses to talk about the gays-in-the military issue.

The same rift occurs on the question of gay "rights." Bennett wanted Empower America to weigh in on the side of the heroic parents of Queens in New York City, who successfully battled against leftist social engineer school Chancellor Joseph Fernandez's attempt to cram multi-cultural pro-gaydom down the throats of public school kids, a battle that succeeded in ousting Fernandez, much to the horror of the *New York Times*. William Weld, of course, was opposed to such support of the parents.

Jack Kemp, on the other hand, lashed out at Bennett's emphasis on the culture wars in the Empower America Jan. 12 press conference. Kemp countered with an "Index of Inner City Economic Opportunity, to show what happens when poor people get access to credit and capital." This, of course, is a direct slap at the free market; what is Kempian "access" supposed to mean except coerced governmental subsidies and invasion of the property rights of capitalists? Does Kemp really think that a few more subsidized hustlers in the inner city will cure its ills?

Kemp, in the meanwhile, refuses to talk about the gays-in-the military issue. Miss Shalit, in an illuminating phrase, calls this attitude "denial" on Kemp's

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part. In the meanwhile, she reports that Weld hopes to convince Kemp to be "more libertarian," although Weld was distressed to find that Weber, the outfit's operating head, had not told him that his "libertarian soulmate"(!) Jim Pinkerton, had quit the organization to work at a conservative think tank. William Kristol, "Crown Prince" of the neocons, also declined to join Empower America, going off to another conservative think-tank. In the meanwhile, Mona Charen, neocon syndicated columnist, gently but firmly chided Kemp for not supporting the Bennett moral-cultural issues. So, while Empower America itself is firmly in Kempian hands (Weber and bankroller, investment banker Theodore Forstmann are both dedicated Kempians), it looks like this will mean little, for the neocons may be planning to jump ship.

(Miss Shalit's article is written from a Weld-Pinkerton perspective; see her article on the Bush campaign from the point of view of a young Pinkerton aide, "What I Saw at the Devolution," in left-libertarian *Reason* magazine, March 1993).

The Phony Libertarianism of Bill Weld

Bill Weld first came to our favorable attention when, after beating the neocon John Silber for governor of Massachusetts in 1990, he actually cut the state budget, amounting to about $15 billion, by $1.6 billion. He was then facing a Dukakis-inherited state deficit of over $630 million. But soon other aspects of Weldism came to the fore countering these libertarian leanings: his all-out foreign interventionism, proclaiming he would never bring a single soldier back from overseas; his radical environmentalism; and his ardent support for gay privilege. But while "socially tolerant," in left-libertarian jargon, he at least seemed to be honestly "fiscally conservative."

No more. As Bill Weld increasingly becomes the darling of the Republican Left, his fiscal leftism, too, has now come out of the closet. Weld's newly proposed budget for next year is a whopping $900 million increase over the current fiscal year, bringing the total up to $15.2 billion. Weld's proposed big spending budget includes a $9 million increase on environmentalism (bringing the total up to $149 million), and no less than a $175 million hike in "human services," including day care, welfare, AIDS funding, and Medicare. In addition, Weld wants an increase of $123 million on higher education.

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Weld's turnabout was hailed as an "ideological swivel" from his 1991 budget by the *Boston Globe*, the left-liberal Establishment newspaper of the region. The *Globe* stated that the new budget was "designed to help heal the injuries he [Weld] inflicted two years ago," and the paper was happily reminded of Dukakis's budgets of the "high-flying 1980s." [See "Second Thoughts on Weld's Big-Spend Budget," *Human Events*, Feb. 27].

So much for Bill Weld, and the alleged "libertarianism" he is trying to push on Jack Kemp. MiGod, do we have to yearn for the Return of John Silber, so we can put an end to the Weld Threat? ■

Free Speech, 1, Hate Thought Police, 1

by M.N.R.

There's good news and bad news on one of the mighty struggles of our day: Free Speech vs. the Hate Thought Police. Left-libertarians might ponder the fact that in both cases the great cause of free speech is being upheld not just by rightists, but by Irish Catholic rightists, at that.

Bad news first. Follwing on the heels of the lynching of Marge Schott, Dedham, Massachusetts, Judge B. Joseph Fitzimmons, Jr., is another person to be pilloried and punished, not only for Hate Thoughts, but also for Hate Thoughts expressed in

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private remarks rather than in his public capacity. Judge Fitzimmons's high crime is alleged expressions of private anti-Semitic thoughts. Note that the judge has never been charged with anti-Semitic discrimination in his courtroom, and that several Jewish lawyers have publicly praised Fitzimmons as "a nice, decent guy," as "extremely fair, pleasant, respectful and judicious," and even as a "loveable guy, a big puppy dog."

So what has this fair, pleasant, and lovable puppy dog done that merited no less than a three-year investigation, and punishment—indeed the most severe sanction ever imposed—by the exalted Massachussetts Commission on Judicial Conduct? What has he done that led to a six-month suspension from his judicial duties without pay, plus a whopping $60,000 fine?

Simply that in "unguarded moments," in what he thought were friendly private conversations, Fitzimmons delivered himself of a few jocular remarks, such as: (1) referring to a Jewish lawyer as a "kike"; (2) regularly calling Jewish lawyers "Canadians," and then, using such a code, saying of one: "Typical Canadian. All he thinks about is money." (3) Once, when informed that a Jewish lawyer was waiting to see him, the judge commented: "It's time to go warm up the ovens."

Well! Maximum penalty, right? For this, the Massachusetts Commission wasted three years of everyone's time, or do these Inquisitors have anything better to do?

Do you think there was any outrage in Massachusetts over this pillorying of a judge on exercising his right of free speech in private? Quite the contrary.

Everyone denounced the Commission for a niggling slap on the wrist. The *Massachusetts Lawyers Weekly* called on Fitzimmons to resign from the bench

Rating Senators

Generally, we only bother rating Republicans, giving up Democratic Senators as hopeless. But on Feb. 18, an extraordinary event occurred: the U.S. Senate actually handed a sharp setback to one cherished program of Clintonian Multicultural Destruction: voting 76 to 23 to stop Clinton from admitting AIDS-infected immigrants into the U.S.

It has been an eminently sensible and time-honored policy of the U.S. to refuse entry to people with contagious diseases, and therefore menaces to the public health. How much more important to keep out immigrants with a fatal as well as communicable disease such as AIDS! It would be interesting, in fact, to hear some rational arguments in favor of what can only be called a policy of mass suicide, a sort of national Jim Jones mania. Surely even the indefatigable pro-immigration economist Julian Simon would not contend that AIDS-immigrants will contribute to American productivity!

Let it be noted that every Senate Republican, with the stark exception of Senator Hatfield (Ore.) voted to ban AIDS-immigrants. Let us record plusses for them all, and a big minus for Hatfield.

Instead, let us examine the votes of the Senate Democrats, who voted 34 to 22 in favor of an AIDS-ban. A "+" favored the AIDS ban, and may be considered an anti-AIDS vote; A "—" takes the lunatic pro-AIDS position.

Alabama
Heflin +
Shelby +

Arizona
DeConcini +

Arkansas
Bumpers +
Pryor +

California
Boxer —
Feinstein —

Colorado
Campbell +

Connecticut
Dodd —
Lieberman +

Delaware
Biden +

Florida
Graham +

Georgia
Nunn +

Hawaii
Akaka —
Inouye —

Illinois
Braun —
Simon —

Iowa
Harkin +

Kentucky
Ford +

Louisiana
Breaux +
Johnston +

Maine
Mitchell —

Maryland
Mikulski —
Sarbanes —

Massachusetts
Kennedy —
Kerry +

Michigan
Levin +
Riegle O

Minnesota
Wellstone —

Montana
Baucus —

Nebraska
Exon +
Kerrey +

Nevada
Bryan +
Reid +

New Jersey
Bradley —
Lautenberg —

New Mexico
Bingaman +

New York
Moynihan —

North Dakota
Conrad +
Dorgan +

Ohio
Glenn +
Metzenbaum —

Oklahoma
Boren +

Pennsylvania
Wofford —

Rhode Island
Pell +

South Carolina
Hollings +

South Dakota
Daschle +

Tennessee
Mathews +
Sasser +

Texas
Krueger +

Vermont
Leahy —

Virginia
Robb —

Washington
Murray —

West Virginia
Byrd +
Rockefeller +

Wisconsin
Feingold —
Kohl +

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or be kicked out of office, as did the *Jewish Advocate*.

Poor Fitzimmons dug in and has tried his best to keep his post. He denied making the oven and kike comments, deeply apologized for making some remarks about "attorneys of the Jewish faith" which could "reasonably be understood as being anti-Semitic," and denied vigorously ever "harboring anti-Semitic feelings," insisting that no less than three Jewish psychiatrists had agreed in this assessment. In addition, poor Fitzimmons, trying to propitiate the gods of the Thought Police, pledged to continue psychiatric therapy, as well as "sensitivity training," at his own expense.

"The humor of naming the thought police the 'Human Rights Commission' is particularly Orwellian."

But the "libertarian" Governor William Weld proved implacable. Apparently, this bozo's interpretation of "libertarianism" includes asking the state legislature to begin impeachment proceedings against Judge Fitzimmons. So far, it looks like another triumph for the Hate Thought cops.

But things are looking better in New York. Every year on March 17 since 1840—yes for 153 years!—the lovable Irish Catholic Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) has conducted a mighty parade down Fifth Avenue in Manhattan in honor of St. Patrick's Day, a parade that attracts two million spectators. For the last two years, the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization has been trying to horn into the parade, and the AOH has denied them this privilege, in effect saying keep out of our parade, get your own somewhere if you wish. To the Hibernian point that homosexuality contradicts Catholic teachings, the administration of Mayor Dinkins countered with the line of the Irish gays that the St. Patrick's Day parade is a cultural, Irish event rather than a religious one, so that the AOH's freedom of religious expression would not be violated by forcing gays into the parade. The Hibernians properly responded by pointing to the title of the day's parade: *Saint* Patrick. 'Nuff said.

This year, the Dinkins Administration decided to crack down on the Hibernians. The Mayor's Human Rights Commission ruled last October that, since the parade is a "public accommodation," it is subject to the city's human rights law, which outlaws anti-gay discrimination. As a result, Dinkins yanked the AOH's permit, and granted this year's St. Patrick's parade permit to a group of leftist Hibernian dissidents, who promised to include the gay group in their parade. The AOH and masses of Irish groups, however, replied by boycotting the upstarts' parade, and the Irish dissidents caved in on February 10, withdrawing from the fray.

For several weeks, it looked as if there would be no St. Paddy's Day parade this year. But heroically, Federal District Judge Kevin T. Duffy ruled, on Feb. 25, requiring the Mayor to restore the AOH parade, at least for this year. Judge Duffy's ruling was trenchant and heroic, at times approaching the pungency of an *RRR* article. Thus, Duffy denounced the Human Rights Commission as trying to dictate the thoughts and consciences of other people, likening it to the "thought police" in Orwell's *1984*. "The humor of naming the thought police the 'Human Rights Commission' is particularly Orwellian," wrote Judge Duffy. Judge Duffy, Irish to the core, declared that a parade is evidently an exercise of free speech: "Insofar as a parade constitutes protected free speech, it cannot be a public accommodation. A parade is, by its nature, a pristine form of speech. In parades, people gather together for the purpose of expressing their message." Attaboy Judge! Up the Irish!

And so St. Paddy's Day parade will be held, as it has since 1840. The court fight is far from over permanently, the struggle goes on, but at least we can chalk up a win for free speech.

The menace of the "public accommodation" argument should be well noted. If any use of the public streets is called a "public accommodation," then

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totalitarian despotism is here, for since the government owns all the streets, such a ruling would mean that we can never disagree with or disobey the commands of the government, the monopoly street owner and regulator. In the long run, we should begin to rethink the governmental monopoly of streets and think seriously about privatizing and thereby decentralizing the streets; but in the meanwhile, we must be sure to limit the government's anti-free speach street power as far as possible. ■

The Somalian Sideshow, or Uncle Sam, the Good Deed Man

by Joseph R. Stromberg

I am sitting here trying to decide what is the most repellent aspect of the U.S. intervention (or glowing example of moral imperialism, or empire with a human face: your choice) being staged with the "help" of—and possibly to the actual benefit of some of—the Somali people. Several come to mind. First, while I am still not sure what Soren Kierkegaard had in mind in *Fear and Trembling, the Sickness unto Death*, these are just the feelings that welled up in my breast when I saw the odious face of Pete Williams, prevaricator extraordinaire, holding forth on TV about the disclosable minutiae of the latest U.S. exercise in armed philanthropy.

It wasn't just that this guy was getting paid lots of money to lie to me and thee, I think it was his style. I thought he had peaked with the neocolonialist Persian Gulf massacre, but No, he was back again, spewing out endless bafflegab of the sort that ought to be limited to Melvin Dishwater (the man that lied for Cap'n Bushy).

Next, I suppose, come the tricky names that mean to arm-twist the judgment of history: Operation Just Cause (no need looking into that one, chaps, and where's my tenure?), Desert Storm, nee Shield, now Restore Hope. I am probably blocking on the name given to the invasion of Grenada.

Good Lord! whatever happened to good old-fashioned militaristic tags like "Hammer," "Overlord," and "D-Day"? I suppose they weren't kinder and gentler, suggesting as they did violent struggle and occasional injury, unlike the present editorializing titles which celebrate the unparalleled moral superiority and spiritual refinement of the U.S. ruling elite.

Third, comes the cringing, fawning servility of the Free Press toward the military and the state and all their works. (Down here in the South we refer to this posture as "ass-kissing," but I digress....) Doubtless we shall soon be hearing commentary like this:

"Yes, that's right, Dan. We can't tell your viewers anything at all about actual military activities, of course, but we do have some interesting developments for you. We have a verified report that twenty miles inland from here a Marine Colonel is healing the sick and raising the dead [and "making little girls talk out of their heads"? *C'est rire*]. In Mogadishu, Air Force Lieutenants are walking on water and levitating the hostiles. I tell ya, Dan, it really makes you proud to be an American."

Finally, the Somali adventure is repellent precisely because it's yet another goddamned intervention, another episode in the ongoing saga of Wilsonian perpetual war for perpetual peace. (I think this episode is called "Commando Cody and the Monstrous Regiment of Social Workers.") But why this bit of meddling? It couldn't have been to reelect George Herbert Walker Bush, the highest stage of northeastern country-club Republicanism. After all, the blood atonement (so to speak) of 100,000, and no one knows quite how many more, Iraqi conscripts and civilians couldn't do that, sending the Army of Potomac (or whatever they're calling it these days) to East Africa can hardly prepare the path for a Bush comeback. (Unless, of course, having been a Harry Truman *manque*, GHWB is now looking to reenact the neglected Grover Cleveland pattern.)

I don't buy the theory that mean-spirited ole George just did it to leave the Demos a sort of overseas dog's dinner to clean up. Clinton is a convinced liberal imperialist, whatever his Oxonian indiscretions, and Gore is rather cozy, so they say, with the Lobby Whose Name We Won't Even Speak. I don't sense any real conflict between Bush and the Bozos at the water's edge.

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I leave it to others to tell us if Somalia has some overriding strategic value to the renewed American Wimpire. It *is* pretty much the Horn of Africa and it *is* rather jam-up against the Middle East (an historically normal place for throwing the old national weight around). There also comes a time in the history of an empire when almost any piece of land anywhere seems "strategic" to some imperial planning bureaucrat.

Leaving that aside, there are a couple of other possibilities. One is rather cosmic. A member of the Manson gang once opined that Adolf Hitler was a groovy dude who levelled the Jews' karma (or words to that effect.) [This would make this Mansonian the founder of a particularly severe sect of Holocaust Revision second only to that of Andrea Dworkin. I claim la Dworkin as a Holocaust Revisionist on the basis of her strongly stated conviction that there is absolutely *no* important distinction between pornography and the *Endlosung*. This surely means that Dworkin believes that the Nazis merely put Jews in humiliating situations and then *took pictures* of them. That, or she is exempt from the normal rules of scholarly discourse.]

Maybe some mildly guilt-ridden foreign policy planners want to save a few Somalis to improve, at least, their karma resulting from the Gulf War. It should be rather bad right now, what with the 47,000 deaths of Iraqi children since the high-tech weenies with their bombs—smart and dumb—destroyed the sanitation and other essential services in Iraqi cities, not to mention the deaths of many unknown "collaterals" during the actual Turkey Shoot.

(If you don't believe me, see Ross B. Mirkarimi, "War Still Pounds Iraqis, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 16, 1992, 18; *varii*, "Effect of the Gulf War on Infant and Child Mortality in Iraq," *the New England Journal of Medicine*, 327, 13 [September 24, 1992], 931-36; and Ramsay Clark, *The Fire This Time: U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf* [New York, 1992].)

Another theory: possibly the U.S. planners are seizing the arms of the Somali "thugs," "bandits," "politicians" (or whatever the hell they are) in a practice run for a lightning assault on Second Amendment rights here in the home counties. Maybe not. Perhaps seizing arms from predatory Young Black Males overseas is meant to send a subtle pro-David Duke, pro-white Backlash message to the voters at home while retaining the appearance of political correctness. Too paranoid, I guess.

But now, flailing about wildly with Occam's razor, I arrive at long last at the most economical explanation: intervention in Somalia is to keep up the habit of intervention and prevent any real U.S. internal debate over the question of empire.

The American-Leviathan—the blood of the Gulf War barely dry on its hands—trumpets its devotion to human life.

For this purpose, any marketable cause will do. In this instance, "with subtlety approaching the diabolical,"[1] U.S. policy-makers have chosen an intervention which, on the face of it, even Satan himself would be hard put to condemn. Feeding the starving—and right in time for Christmas! (Even if American Protestants are really Gnostics, as Harold Bloom convincingly argues, you can't underestimate the appeal of holiday generosity.)

For sheer climacteric comicality and world-historically unequalled hypocrisy it is hard to beat the spectacle of the American-Leviathan—the blood of the Gulf War barely dry on its hands—trumpeting its devotion to the sancitity of human life.

Of course the public is given no background for the situation in Somalia. Up until a few months ago, Somalia was just another forgotten, backward, former pawn in the cosmic duel between the Evil and Not-Quite-So-Evil Empires (or was it the Romans and the Parthians?). The Somalis, like the Kurds, hardly existed in the public imagination until it became convenient for the U.S. Establishment to drag their plight onto center stage in service of a larger post-Cold War agenda. And what is the essence of the

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New World Orgy? Just this: massive overkill firepower for the Bad, food and endless social programs for the Good! This is not a completely new package. After terminating with extreme prejudice 200,000-plus rowdy Filipinos at the beginning of this century, the U.S. sent Yankee schoolmarms and sanitation experts to succor the survivors. The comments of the dead went unrecorded. As to who they are who constitute the Good and the Bad, why, the U.S. rulers will decide—sharply dressed in their safari jackets, pith helments, and United Nations figleaves.

Am I making light of disaster and starvation in Somalia? I hope not—but Somalis were starving long before the U.S. leadership suddenly discovered their utility to the emerging New World Ordnung. It is intervention and empire that should be our concern. The "new role" of the U.S. military is the old role with better P.R.—i.e., to project power worldwide in pursuit of the power-political, ideological, and economic goals and whims of the U.S governing elite and their friends (e.g., Aircraft Carrier One, the former U.K.).

As columnist Charley Reese noted (11 Dec.), the U.N. can now fulfill its true purpose as the arrogant enforcer and frontman for the interests of the great powers. The Cold War temporarily foreclosed this happy form of imperialist cooperation. The Soviet collapse leaves the U.S. free to do pretty much to the world (and those of us at home) whatever it can get away with. The One Remaining Superpower (the phrase Charles Krauthammer keeps under his pillow for instant use) is going to be a major problem for some time to come.

If there aren't enough bombing targets left for the U.S. forces after a few more "coalition" exercises like the Gulf War (a problem "we" had in Korea where bombing actually had to cease for a while), we'll probably see more international New Dealism to take up the slack. Soon, Tom Brokaw and the other usual suspects will be filing glowing, goggle-eyed reports about the heroic exploits of the Ninth Motorized Drywall Hangers and the Fifth Airborne Soup Kitchen Rangers.

One could almost miss the Soviet Union just for the limits which that ghastly "social formation" placed on the boundless ambitions of the American rulers. The American state was supposed to be subject to internal limits. This quaint notion—constitutionalism—has been out of fashion for a while. We were meant to "bind them down with the chains of the constitution." This depended, according to the classic formulation of the America idea, on the persistence of republican virtue and libertarian instincts among the people. Absent these, it will be a long *fin de siecle* indeed. ■

Mr. Stromberg is an historian.

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[1]Francis Butler Simkins on Father Abraham—now in another starring role on public tv—and Fort Sumter.

Response to Raimondo on Liebman

by Paul Gottfried

Justin Raimondo's review of Marvin Liebman's autobiography (*RRR*, February 1993) provides a masterful summing-up of the major problems of the postwar conservative movement. Justin got it all right, from the centrality of an anti-Communist foreign policy in that movement to its lack of fixed principles on domestic issues. The conservative movement constructed by Bill Buckley was never serious about dismantling the welfare—or what later became the therapeutic-welfare—state. That movement was in fact more than willing to compromise on what it did profess to believe about domestic policy, and it did so to build anti-Communist alliances with Cold War liberals and others. From the early seventies on, moreover, Buckley became an appendage of New York Jewish celebrities and worked earnestly to make his movement congenial to his new friends. These efforts were made all the more easy by the eagerness of the media to treat Buckley and his new circle of friends as "respectable" conservatives—and everyone else on the Right—a.k.a. the real Right—as anti-Semitic extremists. John Judis, in his biography of Buckley, deals at length with the impact of Buckley's friendships on political changes that were imposed on a conservative movement that looked to him as its "patron saint."

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My one disagreement with Justin centers on his labeling of Buckley's factotum Marvin Liebman as a "neoconservative." Despite Liebman's Brooklyn Jewish Marxist background, and recent invectives against Pat Buchanan, the neoconservative label does not, in my opinion, seem to apply to him. Liebman is a fairly typical conservative activist, who has easily adapted himself to his "maturing" movement and to the political odysseys of his idol William Buckley. Even if he were not gay, he would likely be expressing sympathy for "oppressed" homosexuals; and even if he were not Jewish, he would speak as "sensitively" about anti-Semitism as Bill Buckley has in his most recent incarnation and the Podhoretzes everywhere and always. Liebman was a screaming anti-Communist and convert to Catholicism, when these were the in-things for conservatives to be twenty or thirty years ago. He has since come to express new relevant concerns, which Justin considers to be neoconservative. Though I would not dispute this assessment of his most recent views, it seems to me that Liebman has not embraced neoconservative agendas because of any persistent social democratic belief. I doubt he was a social democrat thirty years ago—or that he would remain one any longer if the improbable occurred and Mr. Buckley altered his social alliances.

If anything, Justin is too kind to Marvin Liebman and other movement conservative zombies to whom he attributes a consistent *weltanschauung*. Like Sam Francis I have never met a self-described neoconservative activist who did not remind me intellectually of a sea scallop. The alterations in party-line these people have had to swallow each time Buckley or Heritage makes new friends, looks for a new donor base, or tries to make it with David Broder and A.M. Rosenthal would be too much for even self-respecting members of the American Communist Party to put up with. Justin and I can both remember how these conservative activists went from honoring Pat Buchanan to condemning him as a neo-Nazi, within the space of a few days. And there was nothing that Buchanan said in the intervening time that could be cited to justify this about-face. Surely such types cannot be described as principled theorists of any kind, and Marv Liebman, who displays the same flexible convictions, should be viewed the same way. Why is it that Liebman joined the Catholic Church when its magisterium spoke out against homosexuality much more emphatically and unanimously than it does now? Why wasn't Liebman more concerned about anti-Semitism on the Right in the fifties and sixties, when *N.R.* published anti-Semites, than he is now, when anti-anti-Semitism has become Mr. Buckley's widely publicized and highly praised obsession?

Justin is too kind to Marvin Liebman and other movement conservative zombies.

The answers to my rhetorical questions are obvious and explain why I consider Liebman to be far less significant than a neocon. Liebman illustrates the gullibility and lack of a moral center that allowed the conservative movement to be taken over, almost without resistance, by a handful of neocon power-brokers. What made that takeover possible was the combination of knee-jerk anti-Communism, intellectual vulgarity, and social opportunism that has characterized all too many postwar conservatives. Such activists were not predisposed to neoconservatism; though they were certainly not Taft Republicans, they were also not social democrats either. It was the eagerness to take orders from above in what was perceived as a global struggle against Communism, not any commitment to Roosevelt's or Humphrey's welfare state, that became the defining mark of the rank-and-file conservative activist. Needless to say, the leadership, personified by Buckley, could not plead stupidity when they handed over their movement to the *Commentary*-set. But those who were followers thought and

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did as they were told. There was no temporal salvation for them, or so they thought, outside the movement; and both financial and social punishments were inflicted on those who disobeyed. Justin might consider this situation in trying to understand Liebman. His Communist background, which Justin emphasizes, does shed light here. ■

Dr. Gottfried is author of *The Conservative Movement* (Twayne, 1993).

Economy and Enterprise in the Age of Clinton

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

If we need any proof that Bill Clinton intends to vastly increase government intervention in the economy, we need look no further than his choice to head the Council of Economic Advisers, Laura D'Andrea Tyson. Though the press has taken no notice, the bulk of the academic work of this professor of economics at the University of California, Berkeley, consists of apologies for East European socialism.

The reader searches in vain for criticisms of those failed systems or for sympathy toward the free enterprise system. She demonstrates a special affection for Rumania's economic policy under the monstrous Nicolai Ceausescu. In *Economic Adjustment in Eastern Europe*, a manuscript prepared for the United States Air Force, and published by Rand Corporation (1984), she gushes: "Rumania embarked upon a major 'remobilization' effort" in the 1970's. As a result, Rumania achieved, "dazzling growth rates in the 1970's." "Investment grew more rapidly in Rumania than in the other bloc countries throughout most of the postwar period, and by 1974, Rumania's investment effort, expressed as a share of net material product, was the highest in the bloc and perhaps in the world."

Yugoslavia's "market socialism" was the subject of her doctoral dissertation, later published as *The Yugoslav Economic System in the 1970's* (University of California, Berkeley, 1980). She is not nearly as enthralled with Tito's regime as she was with Ceausescu's. Tito was too market-oriented for her. "The market failed to live up to expectations," she writes, and the answer was a recentralization of economic planning. Tito did that, and "by 1977 Tito could justifiably claim that 'the unity of our working people has never been greater than today'."

Tyson, like many other economists before the collapse of socialism in 1989, was ideologically blinded to the reality in Communist countries. With her present advocacy of industrial planning and protectionism, she continues to be similarly blinded by the failures of those policies in Western countries.

In the new administration, she is not alone. Clinton has staffed his cabinet and regulatory agencies with people who have an undying faith in the ability of the state to manage our economic lives. Though it is the last thing we need after the surge of statism under Bush, the consequence of Clintonism will be a bigger government, a poorer people, and an economy closer to the Swedish model of democratic socialism than the capitalism that made America rich.

What To Expect

In the Age of Clinton, there are many overt ways in which the market will come under attack. For example, we can expect higher taxes. We will get gasoline and across-the-board energy taxes. These are seen as both revenue raising measures and as penalties to discourage consumption in the name of environmentalism. In other words, the intention is to make the state richer and the public poorer.

We can expect other kinds of consumption taxes (which are misnamed, since they ultimately punish production). These include higher taxes on wine, beer, liquor, cigarettes, and any other products deemed politically incorrect. Higher income taxes are promised, and we will also get a value-added tax. Clinton's advisers favor this, despite the horrible results in Western Europe, where such taxes have harmed business and empowered the tax police to invade any business without a warrant and demand all records. No appeal is possible until the full tax and penalties are paid.

Also dangerous is the effort to increase taxes on inheritances.

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Three lines of attack are currently under discussion. The first would lower the exemption on inheritance taxation from $600,000 to $200,000. The second would apply the capital gains tax to bequests, calculated from the *original value* of the asset. The third would simply raise rates.

Any of these will give us fewer family businesses, less incentive to save, and further redistribution of wealth from the productive to the unproductive and the government.

Government spending, which reached an astounding $1.6 trillion last year, will go much higher. Why? To provide for the "infrastructure," though there is no evidence that it is in a worse state of disrepair than ten years ago. Further, this type of spending does nothing to boost the economy. On the contrary, it saps it. We have spent hundreds of billions of dollars on the infrastructure in the last few decades. Wealth does its work only if left in private hands.

On health care, we will see more socialism, whether it's called "managed competition" or something else. The present highly interventionist system is coming apart; its flaws can only be corrected through the market, but the logic of the system pushes it toward more socialism. The result, as with the other programs of Clinton, will be less efficiency, less prosperity, and less real medical care, as shown by the experience with socialized medicine elsewhere.

We can also expect, under medical rationing (made inevitable by socialism), pressure on the elderly and the terminally ill to do the government a favor and kill themselves.

The mountains of regulations passed during the Bush era will be tightened during the Clinton administration. The Clean Air Act and the Civil Rights Act will cause problems, but the most dangerous is the Americans with Disabilities Act. It may be the looniest piece of legislation ever to leave Congress.

Clinton's goal is to create a quota program in the market for loanable funds.

The ADA imposes anti-discrimination law not only with regard to the physically disabled, but to the unintelligent, mentally ill, and those who have trouble reasoning and remembering. It is bad enough that if a job applicant cannot hear, the businessman will have to hire someone else as a sign-language interpreter. But if a store owner wants sales clerks who can count and remember names, and insists on it, he is "discriminating."

Clinton has promised to enforce this law to the hilt, which means big fines and even jail terms for honest businessmen who merely act in an economically rational way. Of course, economic rationality is not much in favor in today's D.C.

Some Less Obvious Effects of Clintonism

There are other, less obvious designs the new administration has on the economy. For example, it sees the banking system as a means of welfare provision. In a free market, only the creditworthy get loans. In the future, special interests will have an entitlement to loans.

This will involve a more rigorous enforcement of the Community Reinvestment Act, which is based on the idea that there is widespread discrimination against blacks and Hispanics in the loan markets. The supporting studies, however, are deeply flawed. They look at the distribution of loans according to race, while ignoring the reason loan distribution is as it is. Loan officers must consider credit rating, job history, job security, assets, and much else. That's why Asians are approved more often than whites, although no one has accused bankers of being yellow supremacists. It's also why whites get more loans than Hispanics, and Hispanics than blacks.

Clinton's goal is to create a quota program in the market for loanable funds. This will redistribute credit from those who deserve it to those who don't. But it does so in a way that is less obvious than the old fashioned redistribution that characterized the welfare state.

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Clinton also proposes to build a network of community banks—subsidized by taxpayers—to aid his neo-redistributionism. No job, no credit history, no assets? No problem.

This sort of financial policy is dangerous, as the S&L crackup should have taught us. Moreover, it attacks the idea of creditworthiness, one of the last vestiges of institutionalized merit left in American public life.

An Alternative

If we are to battle Clinton's statism, we have to tell the truth about some of our own past. The eighties, for example, were not years of government cutbacks. Government spending and taxing exploded, credit became looser than ever, and more power was given to the federal government in education, drugs, and executive privilege. As a result, we live in more of a mixed economy than under Carter, and our private sector is shrinking.

Recently, we've heard much about "empowerment" from such conservative leaders as former HUD secretary Jack Kemp, former drug czar and education secretary William Bennett, and former Bush policy advisor James Pinkerton. They have even, with a number of others, founded an organization called Empower America. This word is supposed to summarize the right's domestic agenda for the next ten years. But the word's origins are on the left, and judging from the policies that it describes, it's still a leftist word.

That is, the empowerment agenda seeks to expand the welfare state, but have it run by Republicans. When the *New York Times* asked Pinkerton what empowerment was, for example, he cited the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Under empowerment comes a number of proposals. First, there are a variety of workfare programs. But these are hugely expensive to administrate. Whole new agencies will have to be created to train and monitor these workers, who won't be doing work that is economically useful, which only takes place in the private sector, and instead will be doing work that is politically useful.

Kemp wants welfare clients to be able to work in these jobs, and still get most of their welfare payments. But what does this do to the low-income person not on welfare, or to the taxpayer?

There is no substitute for kicking people off the welfare rolls. There is nothing like necessity to make us realize the costs of laziness. The deserving poor—a small percentage of the welfare total—should be taken care of through religious and other private charities. We already pay for a workfare program called the federal government. We cannot afford to add to it.

Enterprise zones sound like a good idea in the abstract: give tax breaks in economically underdeveloped areas. But in fact, they are welfare zones. Chosen zone businesses will get low interest loans, grants from HUD, grants for labor-intensive industries, expanded government educational programs, and virtually everything included in the Great Society's corrupt and economically disastrous "model cities" program.

Another empowerment proposal, allowing welfare recipients to accumulate ten times as many assets has the effect of making far more people eligible for welfare. Republicans should not be designing programs to expand the welfare rolls. Finally, allowing welfare clients to be better off will remove the just stigma of welfare and decrease the already low incentive to get off.

With school choice, the idea is to give vouchers to poor people so they can attend private schools. Some people think such a program will replace the public school system. I've got news for them: it won't. It will be added on top of the public school system. Looked at another way, school choice gives massive subsidies to the private school industry without corresponding cuts in public.

Pinkerton suggests that the government give each public school student a voucher worth $8,000 to attend private school. There are more than 40 million children attending public school. That means the program could cost $320 billion a year, not including D.C. administration, always a big part of the budget. Thus school choice welfare could cost more than the national defense. This is conservatism?

Some people can afford private school and some cannot, just as some people can afford expensive cars and others have to ride the bus. Some people can afford fine clothes, while others have to patch old garments. Are we also going to

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propose choice in cars and choice in clothing?

Additionally, the voucher program will lead to the publicization of private schools. The federal government has always insisted that it control what it pays for. School will not be an exception. When a school accepts a voucher, it will have to abide by the government's rules on curriculum, discipline, admission standards, and much else. The virtue of private schools is that they are free from government.

There is also the Kemp program of tenant management of public housing. But this violates the division of labor. Normal tenants don't manage their apartment complexes; professional managers do. Welfare clients are not among America's most capable people. Would we empower bus passengers by letting them drive?

If you doubt that this empowerment agenda is an expensive undertaking, consider the tenure of Jack Kemp as secretary of that Great Society monstrosity, the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He expanded the budget 43%, adding $9 billion dollars to it. His housing privatization program in some cases cost taxpayers $170,000 per unit. And even then, the "owners" cannot sell them in the open market. Further, Kemp's Moving to Opportunity program paid welfare clients to move to the suburbs, picking up their moving, rent, and electric bills. How is this conservative?

The Free Market

Virtually no one on the right is talking about cutting back government. About *cutting* the budget. Abolishing whole agencies. The Department of Agriculture does absolutely nothing useful for the economy or the society. It should be shut down, as should the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Energy, Education, Commerce, and Labor. And add the FTC, the ICC, the EPA, and all other regulatory agencies.

We must learn to tolerate, indeed celebrate, inequality.

They should all be closed and their employees fired. We've learned that free markets work. It's time to demonstrate our faith in this proposition, and take a wrecker ball to the agencies that oppress our people and hamper our economy.

There is a further condition to reestablishing a free economy, which is also the just economy, the prosperous economy, the efficient economy.

We must learn to tolerate, indeed celebrate, inequality. Inequality, as Ludwig von Mises argued, is necessary for an economy to exist, since if we were all identical, there could be no division of labor. Each of us is radically different from every other human being who existed, now exists, or will exist.

We must realize that smart people will always make more money than stupid people, that industrious people will have more social standing than lazy ones, that some professions are justly more respected than others. This is the real "gorgeous mosaic," not the Procrustean bed. The modern egalitarian program is ruining the economy, as well as the culture. It is time for it to come to an end.

What should be our program? For one thing, we could go back to much of Barry Goldwater's, as outlined in *The Conscience of a Conservative*. Similar ideas were advanced by *National Review* senior editor Frank Meyer. Goldwater and Meyer knew we had to take a chainsaw to big government, and in our far worse condition today, their prescriptions have even more validity.

We most forget schemes that involve taking over bureaucracies and shifting them to our own agendas. Instead, we must slash the federal government anywhere and everywhere. We must decentralize decision-making to states, to localities, to neighborhoods, to families, to individual property owners. Only capitalism and decentralization will save us from the ravages of socialism, social democracy, and the mixed-economy malaise. We cannot

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compromise with statism in the defense of our principles. ■

A speech to the National Review Institute, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1993.

Targeting the Banks?

by L.H.R., Jr.

In one of his first attacks on the private economy, Bill Clinton has targeted the lending practices of the banking industry. This isn't surprising. Since at least 1848, statists have advocated political control over credit markets.

Clinton's Justice Department has selected 200 banks for gimlet-eyed audits. And the Federal Reserve, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Office of Thrift Supervision will choose four or five banks as the "worst offenders," and make examples of them.

What's the crime? From statistical disproportionalities in lending data, the banks are accused of racial discrimination.

The Federal Reserve has published reams of statistics on lending by race, and found that blacks and Hispanics are turned down more often than whites. It has also found, but not exactly trumpeted, that whites are turned down more often than Asians.

These findings are consistent with what savings rates, asset levels, incomes, job histories, and other data would predict. But true to the civil rights tradition, special interests have seized on statistical disparities as proof of discrimination.

Also influential is a local Boston Fed study conducted by Alicia Munnell—recently named as Clinton's assistant Treasury secretary for economic policy. She adjusted for income and credit history (but not other factors), and showed a black-white discrepancy of six percentage points.

True to the civil rights tradition, special interests have seized on statistical disparities as proof of discrimination.

But if lenders were really passing over worthy minority borrowers, the default rate for whites would be higher than for blacks. In a January 4, 1993, *Forbes* article, however, Peter Brimelow and Leslie Spencer point out that the Munnell study shows *equal* loan default rates, exactly what you would expect from rational credit markets.

What's more, Brimelow got Munnell to admit that while she believes "that discrimination occurs," she has *no evidence*. "No one has evidence," she added in her own defense.

The lack of evidence never stops the demagogue, however, and from her powerful post at the Treasury, Munnell will seek to toughen laws, strengthen government's investigative powers, and widen the number of institutions covered.

Judging also by a recent Senate Banking Committee hearing, the days of debating what the data proves or doesn't prove are over. Senator Carol Braun (D.-Ill.) denounced present regulations as being without "any teeth, any muscle, any oomph." Munnell, like Braun and others, is just the person to put the bite on banks, good and hard. The oomph you hear is the sound of efficiency draining out of the economy.

None of these accusers seem to know anything about how credit markets work. They function much like others markets. There are goods for sale (loanable funds) that must be produced (by prior savings), they have a "price" (the time-determined interest rate), and they are allocated according to tested rules (credit worthiness).

We hear no charges about supermarkets or flower shops refusing to sell to blacks. Why should bankers be different from other businessmen? In fact, they are not. Lenders do not pass up opportunities to make good loans, because like grocers and florists, they are driven by the profit motive. Competition between banks and other lending institutions provides additional incentives to be impartial. That's why the whole enterprise of snooping

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out discrimination in lending is futile and ultimately tyrannical.

Bankers know this, but given the current atmosphere in Washington and the culture, they are afraid to speak up. They have adopted a strategy of lying low, hoping to wait out the campaign against them. But this won't work. Statists want government to allocate credit instead of the market, because then government can more easily control the entire economy.

Under government intervention, politics becomes more important than profits—making us all poorer—and justice is violated when people who deserve loans do not get them because the uncreditworthy do.

Once again, the welfare state will reward the ne'er-do-wells at the expense of the financially responsible, decreasing the incentives to work and save, and subsidizing those who have gone on spending and debt sprees.

Instead of making the government look like America, the Clinton administration is making America look like the government. That may be change, but it is hardly progress. ■

Budget Lies

by L.H.R., Jr.

Bill Clinton has bamboozled the public with his economic plan, but you have to be a "policy wonk" to figure it out.

Consider, for example, his promise to cut the federal payroll by 100,000. That's less than 4%, but it would be a good start—except that it's in *authorized* employment as versus actual employment.

Government agencies rarely employ as many people as Congress authorizes them to. That's partly because they use these funds to live it up, and partly because they are inefficient even in hiring.

Under Clinton's plan, for example, the National Archives would have to cut its authorized staff by 110. But while the agency can hire 2,750 people, it actually has only 2,640. In other words, the 110-bureaucrat cut is a phantom.

The same is true of the fabled cuts in the White House staff: they won't go into effect until next year, which—given the nature of government—means never. And right now, the president is hiring an additional 50 "temporary" aides, who—also given the nature of government—will undoubtedly still be there in 1996.

Then there are the cuts in entitlement spending. The biggest is in Social Security benefits, which Clinton lists as $21.4 billion. But the cut comes about from increasing taxes on Social Security recipients. (This was left off the official list of new taxes by Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, so Clinton's package wouldn't be labeled correctly as the largest tax increase in history.)

Many other tax increases are buried in Clinton's list of spending cuts. They include higher FDA user fees ($1 billion), heftier "laboratory rates," ($3 billion), increased U.S. Customs processing fees ($1.25 billion), and bigger insurance fees for banks ($1 billion). All these represent instances of the government forcing companies and individuals to do its will, and then charging them for it.

Worst of all is the $1 billion Clinton says he can get from harsher tax audits, the first time blood-from-a-stone has been called a spending cut.

Clinton promised us "cuts, not gimmicks, in government spending." But that should mean the leviathan on a diet, not midnight visits by the tax police.

Clinton's "public investment" is no more honest, including as it does such New Deal gimmicks as planting more trees. Trees are nice, but how does the government—as versus landowners and tree farmers—know the optimum number of trees? Government trees that can never be used hardly make us richer. He also wants to give $2.5 billion to big city mayors for more welfare, and spend $1 billion on no-show summer jobs for—among others—gang members.

Overall spending, despite the rhetoric, is going up: the Commerce Department, headed by big-business lobbyist Ron Brown, gets a $358 million increase. The tyrannical EPA gets another $1 billion. The failed baby-sitting service called Head Start gets an extra $500 million. HUD gets another $3 billion. The Department of the Interior gets a half billion more.

The Justice Department gets an extra $2 billion, much of it for therapy, while less will be spent on prisons. Maybe the shrinks can start on the criminals as they mug us, in place of sending them to jail. Union

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shill Robert Reich's Department of Labor gets a $3.5 billion increase, but all we hear about is the temporary $95,000 cut in his dining room. Finally, NASA gets its space station, a colossal waste unless we can get the administration to convene the next New Age cabinet meeting up there, with one-way rockets.

None of this, and I've only scratched the surface of the scam, will cut the deficit. We will get, no matter how well they live in Washington, D.C., only further economic decline. We're in trouble now because government at all levels takes almost 50% of the national income. Clinton wants to push that over the half-way mark, on the way to Sweden.

Clinton tells us we must cut the deficit because it crowds out private investment. Sure, so why then seize private investment through higher corporate and income taxes?

We're all supposed to be placated because these higher taxes will punish the rich. Envy—the urge to destroy those above us—is one of the most vicious emotions. Combine it with the desire to impose one's will on the populace, and we will have a presidential "bully pulpit" in another sense.

As to the notion that it is "patriotic" to roll over and let the government take our wallets, isn't that the sort of argument George III—Slick Georgie as they called him—would have made? Our response should be that of the Founding Fathers. ■

M.E. Bradford

by L.H.R., Jr.

Mel Bradford (1934-1993) was a giant. With his formal hat, his soft Southern voice, and his old-fashioned manners, he seemed a man out of a better age.

In any period of our history, this great literary critic and historian would have been a distinguished figure. But for our dumb-downed time, when the wisdom of the ages carries as much currency as a tv sitcom, he was indispensable.

Against the liberals, Mel saw that our nation was more than a mere abstraction.

Against the liberals, Mel saw that our nation was more than a mere abstraction. America is rooted in time and place. To disregard that, and to forget who we are, would lead, he believed, to the death of the Republic. He therefore battled multiculturalism and deconstructionism, while upholding the values of the Southern Agrarians and the Founding Fathers.

He called on us to learn from these great figures, as well as from the Old Right, "courageous men who risked the influence of their careers and ignored the fashion of their time." Their conservatism, he wrote, "was a natural reflex of their achievement of a coherent view of the world forged out of their mastery of a particular discipline."

That description fits, of course, Mel himself, who because of the unfashionable nature of his ideas in a left-wing academia, never had many of the things of this world. Yet this did not dim his scholarship, nor his delight in battle.

Are such scholar-warriors necessary? He wrote: "The deep-rooted conservative instincts of the American people, in all of their multiplicity, needed an apology, a rationale, a teaching (or set of doctrines) if they [are] to survive the argument from authority pressed upon them by an almost uniformly liberal cognoscenti." It was to this task that he devoted his life.

Mel—the author of eight books and editor of three—believed in the power of knowledge, history, and ideas. He knew that ultimately, civilization can only be saved from collectivism and the rampant state by the courage and intellectual power of a few men. He studied these men, and their contributions to literature, political philosophy, and political economy, and he exemplified them.

His thought was a near-perfect synthesis of the best in American conservatism. He saw private property as a sacred institution, to be protected from state intervention as well as

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private criminals. He thought government should be close to the people, and thus he championed local communities over states, and states over Washington, D.C. And he knew that liberty and order are tied together in the good society not by the central state, but by tradition and family.

He praised such free market economists as Ludwig von Mises and his student F.A. Hayek. To Mel, these "two men together began to have an explosive effect on the reigning collectivist consensus concerning the theory of political economy."

His own political roots were among the champions of the Articles of Confederation, the "mild Federalists," and the "early Southern Democrats." "I agree with Murray Rothbard that the American Revolution exploded against remote and arbitrary power," yet also "I am almost a Tory in my view of the proper operations of society at the local level." But so is Murray and many other libertarians, as Mel was pleased to discover in the renewed fusionism of the John Randolph Club.

Like John Randolph of Roanoke, Mel loved liberty and hated equality. "The cult of equality is the 'opiate of the masses' in today's world—part of the larger and older passion for uniformity or freedom from distinction." Even the popular mantra of "equality of opportunity" he saw as deeply flawed, since "only equal persons in equal situations may enjoy equal opportunities."

He loved to fight old battles as much as new ones, disliking the centralizing effects of Lincoln's aggressive war against the South. He wrote of the Lincoln Memorial: "his oversized likeness is elevated above us like that of a deified Roman emperor."

Mel saw Woodrow Wilson's progressivism as based on millennarian notions of the perfectibility of man. FDR's New Deal was anathema because it established a central planning mechanism. The Great Society too was based on a utopian view of the powers of the state.

When he was considered for head of the National Endowment for Humanities, Mel was smeared by neocons who wanted the job for Bill Bennett. (Burt Blumert would later remark to Mel: "If you'd played your cards right, you could have been drug czar.") Later Mel regretted even considering the job. Such agencies as the NEH and the National Endowment for the Arts, he thought, should be abolished.

Before he died, Mel Bradford worried about Clinton's rush towards socialism. If only he were here to fight it with us. ■

Another Clintonian Commie

by L.H.R., Jr.

Businessmen worried about the Clinton administration should be especially alarmed by the appointment of Derek Shearer as deputy under secretary for economic affairs at the Commerce Department. It is an influential post, made all the more important by Shearer's long-time friendship with the president.

If after Clinton's big budget anyone still has illusions about

Quotes That Need No Comment

The Governor of the Volgograd region, Ivan D. Shabunin, gave an extraordinary lecture at a news conference criticizing the current exchange rate of about 560 rubles to the dollar as the result of the manipulation by people "who should be neutralized." The proper rate should be 15 rubles to the dollar, he said, and he called for the issuing of "at least five trillion rubles" in new credits to prop up industry. — *New York Times*

Why, enraged Republicans demand, is Mr. [Alan] Greenspan acting nicer to Mr. Clinton than he did to Mr. Bush, who reappointed him a year ago to a second four-year term as chairman?.... Some Fed watchers say the answer can be found in politics. They say it may have much to do with Mr. Greenspan's fears about losing some of the central bank's treasured independence... — *New York Times*

"I never saw an intervention I didn't like." — Marty Peretz, publisher of *The New Republic*

If the Bible is true, then I'm Christ. But so what? Look at 2,000 years ago. What's so great about being Christ? A man nailed to the cross. A man of sorrow acquainted with grief. You know, being Christ ain't nothing. — David Koresh, head of the Branch Davidians

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his "moderation," this appointment should set him straight. Professor Tom DiLorenzo of Loyola College and others have warned for years that Shearer would be a power in the next Democratic administration. How right they were.

Shearer, professor of public policy at California's Occidental College, has long been a left-wing activist. In the 1970s, he was a founding member of the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, which promoted changing to "a democratic, decentralized socialism from a corporate, monopolistic state."

Since then, he has stopped using the word socialism on grounds that it tends to scare people. At a 1981 conference organized by Ralph Nader, as reported by *Barron's*, Shearer said he now used "economic democracy" as the "great euphemism" for socialism.

You "can't use the 'S' word" in American politics, Shearer said, but "'economic democracy'" sells. "You can take it door to door like Fuller brushes, and the doors will not be slammed in your face."

The most publicized implementation of "economic democracy" in the U.S. was Santa Monica in the 1980s. As the city's planning commissioner, Shearer and his wife Ruth Goldway, the mayor, sought—as he told *In These Times*—to use "the power of the city to control the wealth of the city." Under Shearer-Goldway, the city earned the nickname of "People's Republic of Santa Monica."

"I can't think of anything scarier than Derek planning for the country," former city councilman Herbert Katz told the *Wall Street Journal* last year. And today, Santa Monica, where Shearer and Goldway lived until they moved to Washington, D.C., is known for its government-created housing shortage, general dilapidation, and bureaucratic oppression.

Shearer praised Marxism as "an attempt to humanize economic and social life."

In *The Nation* in 1986, Shearer wrote of the particular "relevance" of Santa Monica to "the rest of urban America." All that was needed, he said ominously, was "a reform-minded Democratic President" willing to spend enough money on "progressive programs."

Shearer had spelled out one of these progressive programs in a 1976 *Nation* article: the establishment of a "government-owned holding company, which would purchase a controlling interest in a major firm in every leading industry." Of course, that proposal is simply a backdoor to nationalization, an idea that even most liberals reject in light of Eastern Europe's experience.

He expands on this idea in his book *Economic Democracy* (Pantheon Books, 1980, co-authored with Martin Carnoy), in which he criticizes American corporations for being too "impersonal and powerful." Economic democracy "must start by dismantling, or at least restructuring, the power of these corporations." First should come a "shift of investment control from corporate domination to the public."

This will "transfer capital from the corporations to the public" through the "logical vehicle," government. As a beginning, he thought, government should own 10-20% of all firms. But such a policy, or even minor steps toward it, would be a devastating blow to the freedom of American business to serve its customers. Businessmen already must spend too much time and money satisfying bureaucrats. Dealing with them as owners would be disastrous.

In a book called *A New Social Contract* (Harper & Row, 1983, with Carnoy as co-author) Shearer calls for government "control" of investment and a "well-planned expansion of the public sector." Businesses that resisted would be punished with higher taxes and more draconian regulations.

Today, however, Shearer—the reputed author of some Clinton campaign speeches—claims to be a new man. "I am a proponent of democratic capitalism," he told the *Orange County Register*. That might be reassuring, if democratic

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capitalism were not itself the latest "great euphenism."

Whatever he calls himself, however, Shearer will use his powerful post at the Commerce Department to impose more government control over the economy. He will seek, as he did in Santa Monica, to "control the wealth," not of the city, but of the nation. And with his history of left-wing activism, price controls and government ownership are not out of the question.

During the campaign, in addition to being a top adviser, Shearer said he was Clinton's "supplier of detective fiction." In a book called *The Anti-Capitalistic Mentality* written in 1956, Ludwig von Mises expressed irritation with how often a businessman proves to be the culprit in such novels. Shearer will turn such fiction into public policy. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Slave Ship

Modern scholarship has shown, as economics would tell us, that slaves were not packed like sardines on slave ships. Property is not deliberately destroyed by its owners—not by the black chiefs who enslaved their fellow Africans and then sold them, and not by the ship owners. And, despite the myths, the death and disease rate among slaves was no greater than among whites on a similar voyage.

But now a slave ship, the Whydah, is causing turmoil in modern Tampa. A pirate ship after it was a slave ship, the Whydah was to be the centerpiece of a $70 million city pirate museum until local blacks discovered the ship's history, and blocked the entire plan.

The city's leaders "rely only on their white upper-income friends," Navita James, head of black studies for the University of South Florida, told the *New York Times* (2/14/93).

The opposition is ironic, says Christopher Hamilton, who helped raise the ship from the ocean's bottom, since the pirates were such great guys: they were an "international, multiracial crew who voted on major decisions and shared loot fairly equally."

Modern scholarship has shown, as economics would tell us, that slaves were not packed like sardines on slave ships.

No one seems to be concerned about another example of municipal socialism, especially one that glorifies the floating scum who were pirates.

Dear Ann Landers

"On April 30, the Los Angeles riots were in full swing. I was with a couple of friends and we got carried away with all the excitement. One guy suggested that we join the rest of the crowd and loot a Korean dry cleaners. The scene was incredible. There were about 20 people grabbing as much stuff as they could before the store was set on fire. That's when I saw this great leather coat hanging not two yards from me. I went to grab it and at the very same moment, 'Wanda' reached for it too. She was beautiful, Ann, and she really wanted that coat, so I made a deal. She could have it if she would let me take her to dinner. We hit it off right away and I knew that night we were perfect for each other. We plan to be married next April. The problem is this: Many out-of-town family members will want to know how we met. Should we tell them the truth? Should we lie? We aren't criminals. We both work and have no police records.—Baffled in Los Angeles" (*The Progressive*, 2/93).

Inducements

Colleges and universities are offering more and more inducements for black students to attend. George Watson, a high school senior in Orange, New Jersey, received more than 100 unsolicited offers of complete scholarships and rich stipends, although his parents are well to do. Harvard offered to waive its $35 application fee and normal deadline. When Watson called the school to check, "a woman in the Harvard admissions office said she knew nothing about the change, until he iden-

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tified himself as a black student." (Fox Butterfield, *New York Times*, 2/28/93)

Similar treatment was accorded Abraham Walker by Princeton and other schools. He is first in his class in a Richmond, Virginia, high school, even though he only got 1000 (out of a possible 1600) on his SATs. "I think I might have a better chance because I'm black. That doesn't bother me. It doesn't bother people that Princeton is terminally Caucasian."

Mit Mends, president of her class at Bellaire High School in Houston, Texas, says she'll "go to the school that gives me the most money." Her father is a CPA and her mother is a lawyer.

"My dad always told me, 'Because you're black, you will have to work harder.'" But "I haven't had to work as hard. The minimum I do impresses people. I'll admit it myself. If I was a white student, I probably wouldn't be out of the ordinary."

A Rock, a Tree, a Whore

Maya Angelou, Bill Clinton's poetess at the inauguration, is more than a columnist for *Playgirl*. She is also a self-described "former madam, prostitute, burlesque stripper, and advisor to Malcolm X."

As noted by John Merony (*Orange County Register*, 2/9/93), a senior at Wake Forest and editor of the conservative *Wake Forest Critic*, Angelou—whose real name is Marguerite Johnson—has a highly paid no-show job at the North Carolina university.

Angelou-Johnson, who once moved to Ghana to work for communist dictator, Kwame Nkrumah, is now "professor for life" at Wake Forest with a six-figure income and *no* duties. She is "never on campus," said her secretary, and those who have a problem with that "don't understand the politics of a university."

The university is now suing Merony to stop calling his paper the *Wake Forest Critic*. The stated reason? Alleged "inaccuracies," of which the administration cannot name one.

Howard's End

A woman who was fired from Howard Hospital in Washington, D.C., because she was not a lesbian—all the other nurses in her unit were—has won an anti-discrimination lawsuit. "Oh no," Suzanne Goldberg, staff attorney with the gay Lambda Legal Defense and Educational Fund, told the *Washington Times* (1/7/93). "To have a heterosexual rely on laws to protect homosexuals really goes against the purpose and reason behind those laws."

Right, Goldberg, and thanks for telling the truth. Civil rights laws are designed to transfer power and wealth from the "oppressors" to the "oppressed."

Uncle Mixie

Milton Friedman is perpetuating left-wing myths (*Wall Street Journal*, 2/3/93) by attacking company towns and stores, which were the products of the voluntary choices of workers and owners. If company stores and towns hadn't fulfilled a market need, they wouldn't have existed.

Friedman says he remembers the "stench of paternalism" in Hershey, Penn., a company town. But workers—especially family men—tended to resist a move to unsettled areas, so companies built homes, schools, sports fields, parks, stores, and churches, as well as factories, to attract them.

Friedman condemns firms that "required, or induced" their employees to accept subsidized housing, shop in subsidized stores, etc. *Induced*? What's wrong with that? And as to "required," no one was forced to take these jobs. But since they offered not only good pay but a high quality of life, workers clamored for them, much to the dismay of union organizers.

Friedman even quotes the commie song about loading "16 tons" of coal, and owing your "soul to the company sto" (not "store," as Friedman says, since it rhymes with go, as in "St. Peter, don't you call me 'cause I can't go").

And he praises the left-wing "reformers" who hated these private property-based institutions, and sought to outlaw them. This shows me, as if I needed more proof, that a good many libertarians would actually hate a genuine laissez-faire social order. There would be, as in the company towns of the 19th century, rigorous social authority, not a footloose and fancy-free modal fantasyland.

The surviving company towns are glorious monuments to laissez-faire and its conservative culture, as a visit to Hershey will attest. As to the "stench" of paternalism, Hershey smells

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of delicious chocolate, and of a far-better age.

Rockwell's Believe It Or Not

For more than a millennium, Dutch farmers have used dikes to reclaim land from the sea. Their productivity helped make the Netherlands one of the most prosperous societies in the world.

But now, under pressure from the Greens, the Dutch government is puncturing the dikes with bulldozers to let the sea back in. More than 600,000 acres of former farmland are to be devoted to wetlands and other eco shrines, at the expense of the Dutch people. "Weeds come back, so you get insects, so you get birds," government scientist Kees van Scharenburg exulted to the *New York Times* (3/7/93).

The Dutch have just legalized "involuntary" euthanasia in its socialized medical system. State policy is thus clear—protect the bugs, kill the humans.

> "Crime is intoxicating—you get off on it more than any other drug."

Crazy Janet

Janet Reno, Clinton's new attorney general, proposed in the *Florida Bar Journal* (3/90) that the government cut back the work week to 25 hours so Americans would have more leisure. This is the level of economic intelligence in our new socialist administration. (*Insight*, 2/28/93)

Will Someone Ice Tea?

Harvard Law School recently invited the "gangsta" rapper Ice Tea to lecture on free speech (John McCaslin, "Inside the Beltway," *Washington Times*, 2/25/93).

Remember when Tea and Time Warner said such lyrics as "die, die, die, pig, die" were only symbolic? Tea told Harvard that he has founded a coalition of gang members in Los Angeles, "Hands Across Watts," composed of "basic killers" who are "getting ready to move on the police."

"I've got my thumb on the pulse of 50,000 killers," he told the law school. After defending his promiscuous sex life and sexual aggression in the workplace, Ice Tea called crime "very glamorous." "Crime is intoxicating—you get off on it more than any other drug."

Westminster Confession

"Westminster Votes To Accept Non-Christians as Teachers," said the headline in the *Atlanta Constitution* (2/27/93). "P.C. Watch" had reported on the national pressure campaign to force the Christian school to hire non-Christian faculty. As usual, that's not enough. Westminster, Atlanta's top private school, must now undertake "appropriate affirmative action." ■

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